Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03993 150025Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
IO-13 CU-02 ACDA-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 OIC-02 DHA-02 TRSE-00 /078 W
----------150029Z 070002 /64
O R 142330Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 995
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 3993

FROM USDEL CSCE, SHERER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: CSCE: MEETING WITH SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD VORONTSOV

SUMMARY: AT A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV, HE RESTATED SOVIET POSITION ON DURATION OF MAIN MEETING AND LIMITING DEBAGE TO PLENARY SESSIONS, AND SAID THAT SOVIETS WOULD ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE. HE SAID ALL PROBLEMS ON IMPLEMENTATION COULD BE RAISED AT THE MAIN MESNING, BUT THAT IF THE U.S. TOOK AN ACCUSATORY APPROACH, THE SOVIETS WOULD FIGHT BACK. HE DISMISSED SPECULATION ABOUT A "POLITICAL CONCEPT," SAYING THAT IT WAS SIMPLY THE DESIRE TO HAVE A CONSTRUCTIVE MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. I MET (ALONG WITH HUNTER) WITH AMBASSADOR YL VORONTSOV AT SOVIET EMBASSY FOR 45 MINUTES THIS AFTERNOON. THE MEETING WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT. VORONTSOV AGREED THAT PREPCON SHOULD FOLLOW FINAT ACT, GOING THROUGH LIST OF DATE, DURATION, AGENDA, AND OTHER MODALITIES-- THOUGH DATE AND DURATION WERE REALLY LINKED. HE RESTATED SOVIET POSITION ON SETTING FIRM DATE FOR COMPLETION OF MAIN MEETING, IN ORDER TO TAKE DISCUSSIONS "MORE DISCIPLINED." YET, HE ARGUED THAT THERE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TIME FOR A GOOD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 03993 150025Z

DEBATE OF ANY PROBLEMS, LEADING TO "FRUITFUL RESULTS." RESPONDING TO POINT ON POSSIBLE FILIBUSTER, HE CITED ANOTHER "SMALL INNOVATION," IN RESTATING SOVIET POSITION ON HAVING ALL DEBATES AT MAIN MEETING IN PLENARY SESSION. WORKING COMMITTEES SHOULD BEGIN IMMEDIATELY, BUT WORK SOLELY ON DRAFTING AGREED PROPOSALS-- "CONCRETE NEW IDEAS FOR FURTHERING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT." BUT EVERY THING COULD BE DEBATED WITHIN THE AGENDA AGREED

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

IN FINAL ACT. I RAISED WITH HIM U.S. POSITION ON BOTH THESE
ISSUES.

2. VORONTSOV SAID THAT DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL
ACT SHOULD GO "IDEA BY IDEA THAT DELEGATIONS HAVE," INSTEAD OF
BY BASKETS, ANALYZING EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST TWO YEARS AND UNDER-
STANDING THAT IMPLEMENTATION IS A LONG-TERM PROCESS. THE SOVIETS
WILL ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE: "IT IS BETTER TO PRAISE THIS BABY;
IT WILL GIVE IT LONG LIFE." OTHERS MAY TAKE A NEGATIVE APPROACH,
WHICH IS ALL RIGHT, BUT THE POSITIVE IS BETTER. (I STRESSED THE
IMPORTANCE OF MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS ON IMPLEMENTATION.)

3. ON NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, VORONTSOV SAID THAT THE
SOVIET DELEGATION WOULD "NOT PASS IT BY IN SILENCE," BUT THAT
BELGRADE IS NOT THE FORUM FOR AGREEING ON IT; IT NEEDS A SPECIAL
FORUM. ON THE THREE BASKET II CONGRESSES PROPOSED BY BREZHNEV,
HE ARGUED THAT THEY FLOWED OUT OF THE FINAL ACT AND ARE USEFUL.
THE SOVIETS WOULD MAKE STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF THEM. ONE HAD BEEN
ACCEPTED (ENVIRONMENT, TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE ECE). THIS
IS A POSITIVE STEP, AND THE OTHER TWO COULD FOLLOW IT, BUT
BELGRADE IS NOT THE PLACE FOR CONVENING THEM.

4. VORONTSOV SAID THAT THE SOVIETS SEEK A COOPERATIVE CONFERENCE,
DESPITE WHAT THE PRESS IS WRITING, ALTHOUGH "SOME" WANT
CONFRONTATION. I INDICATED THAT THE U.S. APPROACH AT THE MAIN
MEETING WOULD INCLUDE A FRANK, HONEST, AND STRAIGHT-FORWARD
DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT WITHOUT CONFRONTATION. VORONTSOV
SAID, IF THIS INCLUDED SOME SELF-CRITICISM, IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED.
THE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD NOT BE ACCUSATORY. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD
CONFIDENTIAL

NOT ACCEPT THAT AND WOULD FIGHT BACK. THEY HAVE MATERIAL TO DO SO.
THEY DO NOT FAVOR THIS APPROACH, BUT WOULD TAKE IT IF GIVEN NO
CHOICE. HE ARGUED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS THE REAL "FLAG-
BEARER OF HUMAN RIGHTS" AND DOESN'T FEEL THAT IT IS BACKWARD IN
THIS AREA. THE UNITED STATES HAS WEAKNESSES, SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT.
YET, THE CONFERENCE CAN ALL BE POSITIVE: IT IS THE OLD QUESTION
WHETHER THE GLASS IS HALF EMPTY OR HALF FULL. THEY ARE INCLINED
TO DISCUSS EVERYTHING ON A POSITIVE NOTE. THEY WANT TO ADD TO THE
SPIRIT OF HELSINKI, PARTICULARLY IN LOOKING TO THE FUTURE. BUT
THEY ARE NOT AFRAID OF A REVIEW OF THE PAST, AND HAVE LOTS
TO SAY ABOUT WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT, AND
ARE PROUD OF THE RESULTS.

5. WE RAISED THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE PRESS REACTION. VORONTSOV
SAID THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN THE MEETING ROOM MATTERED, NOT WHAT
THE PRESS SAYS (WHERE THE SOVIET PRESS IS COMPETENT TO RESPOND).
WE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF THE
"OTHER MODALITIES" ITEM TO BE DISCUSSES AT THE PREP MEETING.
VORONTSOV SAID THAT THEY HAD NO "CONDITIONS" IN MIND, AND HE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ACCEPTED THE ENGLISH WORD "MODALITIES", BUT ARE ONLY CONCERNED TO TALK ABOUT HAVING A CONSTRUCTIVE MAIN MEETING, AND HOW TO REGISTER THIS IN ITS SPEECHES AND CONCLUSIONS. THIS IS ALL THERE IS TO "POLITICAL CONCEPT"; AND IT COULD NOT BE USED TO LIMIT DEBATE IN ANY WAY. SOVEREIGN STATES CAN RAISE WHATEVER THEY WANT. THE TASK OF THE TWO POWERS IS NOT TO BELIEVE IN RUMORS OF CONFRONTATION.

6. ON NEW PROPOSALS, VORONTSOV SAID THAT THEY WOULD HAVE A FEW, CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION. THEY EXPECTED THAT OUT OF THE MEETING WOULD COME NOT HUNDREDS OF PROPOSALS, BUT PERHAPS ONLY A "COUPLE OF DOZEN." HE CONCLUDED THAT THE SOVIETS WILL ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE, AND INVITED THE U.S. TO DO THE SAME; BUT ALL PROBLEMS COULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE MAIN MEETING.
SHERER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA03993
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770212-1007
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770661/aaaacazh.tel
Line Count: 130
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9cacc97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2167786
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: MEETING WITH SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD VORONTSOV SUMMARY: AT A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV, HE RESTATED SOVIET POSITION ON DURATION OF MAIN MEETING AND LI
TAGS: MARR, UR, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9cacc97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009